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INTRODUCTION

By

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During the past century and more Christian missionaries have made numerous contributions to the anthropological literature of India. One of the first of these was the Abbé Dubois, whose account of the manners and customs of the people of India, though written in a witty style and from one who was a genuine lover of the Country, was nevertheless very superficial and gave a completely distorted picture. Later the Rev. G. U. Pope, a very fine scholar who retired in due time to Balliol, and the Rev. Mateer studied the customs and folk-literature of Southern India, and their books may still be read with profit. In the recording of folk-tales, missionaries have always taken a leading part. The Rev. Lal Behari Day's account of the Folk Tales of Bengal is still regarded as classic; the Rev. J. H. Knowles' collection of stories from Kashmir is extremely fascinating and the Rev. C. Swynnerton devoted a quarter of a century to the compilation and study of tales from the Punjab. The Rev. (later, Bishop) A. Wood's anthology, *In and Out of Chanda*, however, is hardly on this level, and the author has even been accused by an American scholar (W. N. Brown) of doctoring his sources. The same may be said of Bishop Eyre Chatterton's *The Story of Gondwana*, which borrows much of its material from the *Papers* of the Rev. S. Hislop, who was the first to record the Gond legend of Lingo, and whose admirable collections were edited after his death by Sir R. Temple in 1860.

In modern times valuable contributions have been made by missionaries in Chota Nagpur, and I need only mention the names of the distinguished authors of the *Encyclopædia Mundarica*—Fathers Hoffman and Van Emelen, the work of Father Hahn and the books of Father Grignard. In recent years under Father Koppers, editor of

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114 *Anthropos* and one of the leaders of the Kulturkreise school of Vienna, other missionaries in Central India—Father S. Fuchs, for example and the Father Jungleblutt—have done some good work. Above them all stand however, the work of the Rev. P. O. Bodding of the Scandinavian Mission, who as a result of over half a century's work in the Santal Parganas, published the most authentic and detailed accounts of the beliefs, practices of the Santals, and a dictionary of the Santal language—contributions without parallel on any primitive tribe so far made by any one in India. It had been my privilege as Hony. General Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal to publish Part III of his Memoir on "How the Santals Live". Unfortunately the other parts of the series could not be published due to the author's sudden death in Denmark during the war. But it is to be hoped that in the MSS removed by his widow to Oslo after his death, there are still preserved some of the notes and papers on the Santals which the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal may yet find it possible to publish.

In these works, three different attitudes, each characteristic of the temper of the times, may be distinguished. The earliest writers, though enchanted in spite of themselves by the interest and beauty of the things they saw, could not escape the belief that every thing outside those approved by the Christian Church was wrong, and would have to disappear before the spread of their teaching. This accounts for the somewhat astringent comments of the Abbé Dubois, which have very rightly offended Indian readers. During the present century, however, the spread of scientific knowledge and a more intensive study of comparative religion, together with a vast amount of scholarly research on the origin of civilization, compelled many to take a more liberal view and this was not without some wholesome influence on missionary anthropologists, such as, for example, Briggs' book on the Chamars (a book quoted several times by Dr. Griffiths), Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's carefully compiled *Rites of the Twice-Born*. The third trend of thought revealing a type more acceptable to the scientific anthropologist, keeps its theological predelictions behind and approaches its subject in a spirit of detached and objective enquiry as exemplified in the Rev. Dr. W. C. Smith's work on the Ao Nagas and the Karen People of Burma by the Rev. H. L. Marshall of the American Baptist Mission, both of whom were trained anthropologists and had taken courses under recognised specialists on the subject. This was also the attitude of Hoffman and Bodding, as well as of Dr. W. G. Griffiths.

Hitherto, not much information was available on the Kols, excepting a few short papers and the accounts given by Crooke, Dalton, Risley, Russell and Hiralal. Although they are one of the most widely

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spread and well known tribes of the Central Uplands extending from Kolhan in the district of Singhbhum and as far west as the Chitor Hills. Contact with them was from the earliest as shown by the name "Kolarian", still used by many in a generic sense for the languages and people of the Munda group. Dr. Griffiths' account of the Kols in a readable handy form is expected to remove much of this want. As a missionary of the Methodist Church, who spent many years in Jubbulpore, Dr. Griffiths had great opportunity of intimate acquaintance with the Kols of this part and his account, therefore, is based on deep personal knowledge. The Kols described by him, however, are greatly acculturated with Hindu ideas and beliefs and do not retain their original practices in the same form and extent as those living in the interior of Rewa. Nevertheless, Dr. Griffiths has succeeded in discovering traces of many interesting customs not hitherto described. Such for example is the practice of local or village exogamy (pp. 69-70) although clan-Kurhi (or Got from Sans Gotra) exogamy is no longer prevalent (p. 52). The author considers that totemism has lost its significance among the Kols (p. 54), but Russell and Hiralal mention (The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Vol. III, pp. 510-11) the names of several totemistic septs among the Mandla Kols, *e.g.*, the Bargaiyan Kols, the Kathotia, the Katharia, and the Kumhra, who show special reverence to the Banyan tree, the Tiger, the Mattress and the Gourd respectively. Other apparently totemistic septs are the Mudia or Mudrundia, the Bhuwar, Nathunia and the Karpatia. Some of them such as Kathautia and Kathariya, Kurha, Bhumiya, Mudia (Murha) find place in the list of 22 clans given by the author (pp. 32-33). The possibility of a totemistic basis of their social organization is strongly suspected, but may perhaps be investigated with greater chances of success among the wilder Kols of Kaimur Hills, and those living in the interior of the Rewa State. Another interesting feature noted by the author is the use of bangles, specially made from metals like copper and iron, as effective protection against evil spirits, and of beads as defensive ornaments against the evil eye in children (p. 180).

The book is illustrated with drawings and well chosen photographs taken by the author, but there are unfortunately several printing errors and certain inconsistencies in the writing of the names of works cited, *e.g.*, W. Crooke's work is cited as "The Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh" on p. 4, but on p. 33, the same work is written as—"Tribes and Castes of *North-West* Provinces and Oudh." Similarly Dr. Verrier Elwin's "The Baiga" is written incorrectly as *The Baigas*.

These small blemishes, however, do not detract from the real

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114 merit of the work and the blank it fills in the ethnographic map of India, as supplying for the first time a dependable account of the life and customs of a large and well known primitive tribe of Central India.

Dr. Griffiths is to be congratulated for doing so in the midst of his other works.

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PREFACE

The writer of this monograph on the Kols of Central India spent fifteen years in Jubbulpore, Central Provinces, and during the latter half of that period was in frequent contact with the Kol group. The materials used in the preparation of this work were collected during this period, and in pursuing the investigations numerous tours were made through areas where Kols are found and the materials and information obtained elsewhere were checked and supplemented. Careful notes were kept and many photographs taken, some of which appear in this volume. 114

The author must thank a large number of friends and helpers, who, by their kind and persistent pressure, have encouraged him to finish this task when many unexpected responsibilities seemed to make it an impossibility. I am especially grateful to Professor George Weston Briggs of Drew University who on a visit to India took valuable time to read the first draft of the manuscript. I am also grateful to the late Professor Oscar MacMillan Buck of the same University for his help in putting the material in final form. To the Reverend Albert Austin Parker, Principal-Emeritus of the Leonard Theological College, I am thankful for encouragement and for a generous measure of the financial help needed for the extensive field work. I am also grateful to those who assisted me in the field work: Nathaniel Peters, Theodore Tirkey and Eleazar Pershadi. Mention must be made of help in translating poetry and I am indebted to Pandit Kanade, Masihdas Wany and the Rev. A. G. Atkins for their assistance. My mother Mrs. Elizabeth R. Griffiths, has given me invaluable help in the preparation of the final copy of the manuscript. To my wife, Mabelle Elwood Griffiths, I am deeply indebted, not only for the sketches found in this book, but also for her consistent encouragement. I have had advice and encouragement from the Late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy well-known for his studies of aboriginal groups in Chota Nagpur. I am especially indebted to Dr. B.S. Guha of the Anthropological Survey of India, for reading the first draft of the manuscript and for valuable suggestions in connection with the final form, and for the latter's interest and cooperation in the anthropometric measurements which were made on the Kols by Dr. B. K. Chatterji of his Laboratory, whose detailed report will be published separately later on. Dr. Bani Prasad also gave me valuable advice when it was expected that these materials [122]

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would appear as a Memoir of the Zoological Survey. The outbreak of the war with Japan stopped all publications. As the war dragged on and it appeared that Government Publications would be unduly delayed the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal accepted the manuscript for this series. I am deeply grateful to all concerned.

Of course thanks and acknowledgement are due to a host of Kols who graciously allowed themselves to be questioned and probed, measured and photographed. They have admitted us into their houses and into their counsels. They have shared with us many of their joys, troubles and difficulties. They are a very human folk, and as one sat and talked with them, his heart went out to them, and we felt as one. They have been pleased and touched as we have attempted to understand their life and thought. What is here offered of that, however, is but a drop in the great ocean of Kol experience, and the author is conscious of all its limitations.

It is also necessary to make clear the terminology of this book, for there has been a change in the meaning of terms. The word 'Kol' was once used in a generic sense to describe 'Munda-speaking' tribes and the term 'Kolarian' is still frequently found, especially in older textbooks of Ethnology. The word was originally used by Max Muller in a linguistic sense, but has now been generally abandoned in favour of 'Munda'. The Munda-speaking people, as distinguished from the Dravidian, delineate the large majority of the aboriginal people living in Chota Nagpur and in the highlands of Central India. The word 'Kol' as it will appear in these pages denotes a particular branch of the 'Munda-speaking' stock settled in Central India.

There are various theories held today as to the racial composition of present-day India. The first inhabitants of India are thought to have been a Negroid people akin to the Negritos of today. This strain is at present largely submerged. In the course of time another race of people became dominant in the land. Dr. Guha has called them Proto-Australoids. They apparently displaced the Negritos and probably absorbed some of their blood. The Proto-Australoids of India show marked resemblances to the Veddas of Ceylon and to the aborigines of Australia. Practically the whole of the Central Indian and South Indian tribes, though speaking different tongues, belong to this group. If anything, these people may be called the true autochtones of the Indian Peninsula. This same racial stratum persists today (though probably modified by contacts with other groups) in the Oraons, Santals, Mundas and Kharias of Bihar; in the Kols, Bhils, Gonds, Korkus, Baigas, etc., of Central India; in upper India among

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Year	Total	"Hindus"	"Animists"
1891	87,000	No record	No record
1901	65,043	Do.	Do.
1911	82,598	58,679	23,819
1921	96,593	92,117	4,476
1931	91,556	75,757	15,799
1941	93,944	No record	No record

According to the 1931 Census Report the majority of the Kols found in the Central Provinces is living in the Jubbulpore division, and numbers 57,827, of which only 84 persons returned themselves as adhering to Tribal Religions.

In the Central India Agency the Census Report of the Kol population is as follows. The figures from earlier Census Reports are incomplete:

Year	Total	"Hindus"	"Animists"
1921	163,000	..	..
1931	200,249	193,526	6,723
1941	32,076	..	..

The Rewa State in the Central India Agency is the home of the Kols according to their own belief. Of the 200,000 Kols in the Central India Agency, the 1931 report showed that 175,391 were found in Rewa State, and of this number only 861 returned themselves as other than Hindu. The report for Central India in 1931 says that there had been a tendency in the past to classify all aboriginal tribes as 'Gonds,' but that this tendency was carefully checked and adjusted in this report.[1]

In the United Provinces bordering Rewa State, Kols are found in considerable numbers. The figures are as follows, and in the Report no distinction is made in regard to tribal religions: all were returned as Hindu and the group treated as an exterior caste:

Year	Total	Year	Total
1891	68,556	1921	68,941
1901	49,653	1931	76,848
1911	65,647	1941	76,737

These are limited practically to three districts: Mirzapur, with some 38,000; Allahabad with 26,000 and Banda with 11,000. The increase over 1921, which amounts to 11.5% is ascribed to immigration from Rewa State. In the United Provinces Report the Kols are treated as an external or depressed class; elsewhere they are uniformly treated as a forest tribe.

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1 *Census of India*, 1931, XXII, p. 217. But the 1941 figures show that a new method of classification was followed. At the time of printing the explanation was not available.

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161 162 Considering India as a whole the Census Reports give the following figures for the Kols :

Year	Total			
1881 ..	.. 57,420			
1891 ..	.. 143,551			
1901 ..	.. 105,474			
1911 ..	.. 148,245	(Including 23,819 'Animists')		
1921 ..	.. 328,245	Do.	9,944	Do.
1931 ..	.. 368,653	Do.	22,522	Do.[1]
1941 ..	.. 202,757	..	..	..

114 171 174 ORIGIN OF THE KOLS : GENERAL : HISTORICAL DATA. In recent years there has been an active interest in the study of the origin of tribe and race in India. There are still vast fields to be explored, since much mystery surrounds the movements of races in India. This is just as true of the Munda group to which the Kols belong. Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy in his book *The Mundas and Their Country* published in 1912, was one of the first to make a serious study of the traditions of the tribes of Chota Nagpur concerning their origins. He does not find that their oral traditions throw much light upon the name or location of their original home.

174 773 One of the legends collected by Roy suggests the place of origin as *Seva Sandi Bir*—'the vast desolate forest.' This vague terminology makes it difficult, if not impossible, to identify any specific locality. It may refer in general to the Highlands of Central India, or even to the dense jungle that is said to have covered parts of the Gangetic Valley. Roy also points out that the Cosmogonic legend of the Munda tribe names a place called *Ajabgarh*—a place first raised out of the primeval ocean, where Sing Bonga, the Supreme deity of the Munda group in Chota Nagpur, created the first parents of the Munda tribe. Roy holds that this idea was probably borrowed from the Hindus and then mixed up with some of the current Munda legends[2]. The Kols of Central India seem to know nothing, or have heard nothing, about Sing Bonga.

Sir William Crooke, in his article on the Kol tribe, gives us the following legendary information[3]. A certain King, Yayati, fifth King of the Lunar race, divided his empire among his five sons. According to the Harivansa, the children of Yayati's son Turuvasu settled in the south. The tenth generation (from, and including

1 *Ibid.*, 1:2, pp. 822, 823.
2 Roy, Sarat Chandra, *The Mundas and Their Country*, p. 12.
3 Crooke, W., *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. III, pp. 295, 296.

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Turuvasu), consisted of four brothers: Pandya, Korala, Chola and Kola. These divided the kingdom amongst themselves and the descendants of the last son, Kola, became the ancestors of the present Kols. 174 173

There is another legend recorded by Colonel Tickell[1] which tells of two self-existent primeval deities called Ote Boram and Sing Bonga. These deities created a boy and a girl and put them together in a cave expecting them to people the earth. However they were found to be too innocent to give hope of progeny and were therefore instructed by these deities in the art of making rice beer which inflames the passions. This was done, and in the course of time they had twelve sons and twelve daughters. These were divided into pairs in order to form the races to people the world. The choice was made on the basis of the kind of food they chose to eat. Sing Bonga set various kinds of food before them, with results which may be summarized thus:

1st pair	chose	bullock flesh	and became Kols.
2nd "	"	buffalo	" Bhumiyas.
3rd "	"	vegetables only	" Brahmins.
4th "	"	Do.	" Chhatris.
5th & 6th	"	goat	" Sudras.
7th & 8th	"	fish	" Sudras.
9th	"	shell fish	" Bhuiyas.
10th & 11th	"	pork	" Santhals.
12th		nothing	" Ghasis.

As the last pair had nothing the first pair was sorry for them and gave them some of their food and ever since they have been dependent on the Kols for food.

Crooke also records how the Kols of Mirzapur relate that they are emigrants from a place called Kiutali, in the territory of the then Bardi *Raja* in Rewa State. They name one Nanhu as their ancestor and had a tribal temple at Pipri near Chunar on the East Indian Railway, in which they installed Birmha *devi*. "Like many of the kindred tribes, they have legends of a kingdom in the Gangetic valley, whence they were expelled by the Savaras and returned to the hill country of the south."[2] 167 173 174

Russell and Hiralal in *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* have nothing to add to Crooke's account in connection with traditions of origin. Apparently they did not put much emphasis on this subject. 114 174

1 *Ibid.*, p. 206.
2 Crooke, W., *Op. Cit.*, p. 206.

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of this list is possible. When the list as a whole was presented to a large and representative Kol group it was asserted that certain of the names on this list were not true Kols; Khangar, Murha, Kabiriya, Khairwar and Narchhila were mentioned, but they did not know what to say about Binj and Gunj, and professed to have never heard about them. It was claimed that Rautel, Kurha, Kathautiya, Kathariya and Kalmangan were all forms of the Rautiya *kurhi*; they had heard of most of them, but had never actually seen all of them. Narchhila was said to be a group of Chamars. This confusion is no doubt due to the fact that other groups have been absorbed into the Kol community and have perpetuated names which are still current in spite of the mixture.

Of the twenty-two names collected from the Kols, Russell and Hiralal have only seven of their thirteen in common with ours. It is not unlikely that some of the names mentioned above are not actual Kols and in the following pages comments on each of the so-called *kurhis* will indicate certain conclusions. Rautiya Kols usually consider themselves the highest of the *kurhis*, although it was frequently noted that individuals from other groups also made the same claim.

William Crooke gives the following list of "endogamous septs", a list based on investigations in southern United Provinces and representing conditions about 1890, over fifty years ago.

1. Rautiya or Rautele
   Dahait or villagers
   Mahtiyan or leader (These are subdivisions)
2. Thakuriya .. "a lord"
3. Banaj ..
4. Pahariya .. "mountaineer"
5. Barwar .. "descendant from the fig (bar) tree"
6. Bin .. (or Binds?)
7. Harwariya .. "ploughman"
8. Rajwariya .. (from Bengal Rajwars?)
9. Hanriyanwa .. "people of the cooking pot"[1]

An examination of this list and its comparison with the one which we obtained shows that there are some common divisions, while some of the others may also be identical. There is exact agreement in the case of the Rautiya and Thakuriya *kurhis*, though the subdivisions of the Rautiyas do not bear much resemblance. Barwar is probably the

1 Crooke, W., *Tribes and Castes of the North West Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. III., Article Kol.

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114 564 [614] same as Borowar on our list; Bin and Binj are probably the same, and Harwariya may have become Garhvariya; the ploughman becoming the fortress-dweller.

Russell and Hiralal[1] state that they found the subcastes noted below, but their results appear to be based on materials gathered from the eastern edge of the Central Provinces. It will be noted that there are points of agreement and disagreement between their list and ours: [614] Rautia, Rautele, Thakuriya, Kagwaria, Desaha, Bharia, Savar and Khairwar. They also include as "totemistic septs" the following: Bargaiyan, Kathotia, Katharia, Kumhra and Bhuwar.

564 1. *Rautiya.* This designation is believed to be derived from the word Rawat meaning "a prince," and as such may be traced to some ancient landholding or warrior group among the Kols in centuries [554] past. This group claims to be the highest of the Kol *kurhis* and such assertions were usually not disputed by either Thakuriyas or others in joint group discussions; although on one or two occasions it was controverted as recorded under the Thakuriya (*vide p.* 41). Almost [177] without exception the Rautiyas make use of the Brahmin priest at the [585] time of wedding, and of the Hindu *nai* or barber, and the *dhobi* or [302] washerman in certain ceremonies connected with birth and death. Not to do this would be to sin against social conventions; yet in one or two cases we were told that if a Rautiya is too poor to employ a Brahmin he might make other arrangements. This probably means that far back in their history they attended to such matters themselves, but have now become Hinduized and feel unable to act for themselves. Rautiyas made the claim that they move freely among Hindus and are recognized by them in a manner that other Kol *kurhis* are not. While the group is theoretically endogamous, hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas. This is probably a relic from the time when intermarriage was common, but the process of Hinduization has [582] now stabilized the *kurhis*. They admit that if necessary Thakuriya girls may be married to Rautiya boys, but deny that they ever give their girls in marriages to Thakuriyas. If a *swasaha* Rautiya—those [184] whom perform marriage without the help of a Brahmin—has an eligible [585] son they would give their daughter to him in marriage only if it is agreed that the Brahmin priest and the *nai*, will officiate in the regular way.

Rautiyas have a very definite taboo in the case of the horse. [825] Horse manure is absolutely forbidden to be touched. There are several [773] curious stories that came to our attention. One of them is that in the [784] dim ages past Bhagawan gave the Kols the gift of a horse. In a few

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Article Kol.

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564 sub-groups are recognised within the Rautiya *kurhi*. These are often listed as entirely separate from Rautiyas, but when those conversant with such matters were pressed, it was found that these are really sub-groups of the Rautiya. The sub-groups are:

1a. *Rautel*. This group appears in eleven of the twenty-one lists as a genuine Kol *kurhi*. Further study has revealed that this name is used rather loosely and that there is really very little difference between the Rautels and the Rautiyas. In Maihar State groups calling themselves Rautel claimed that they practise hypergamy with Rautiyas and Thakuriyas; but this occurs only if suitable Rautel girls are not available for marriage. The groups in Maihar State claimed that they are the highest class of Kols, as a Brahmin priest always officiates in their wedding ceremonies, while the Rautiyas do not always observe this essential. It came out in the same discussions that Rautels eat off [264 415] an earthen dish known as the *kurha*, and that they are thus probably identical with the sub-group of Rautiyas known as Kurhas. A Kathautiya Kol later confirmed this interpretation. This same informant said that his group used to practise hypergamy with Kurhas, [114] but that now there are no restrictions, and in most places either can take or give their girls in marriage without hindrance. This opinion, however, was found to be inconsistent with enquiries in other centres.

[614] 1b. *Kurha*. The Kurha is definitely a Rautiya of a particular kind, and might be considered a "totemistic sept". This group is expected to do all its eating off black earthenware vessels known as *kurhas*. These are not made by Kols themselves, but are bought from members of the potter caste, the Kumhars. The following stories were noted in regard to their origin.

[415 264]

The earthenware KŪṆĀ
This is the dish from which the Kōṇḍā eats out.

Fig. 17

564 773 Once upon a time there were two brothers who were orphaned of their father and brought up by their mother. After a time the old mother died and the two sons were forced to go out into the world and earn their own living. Following quite a long period of separation they happened to meet, and each enquired after the work and welfare of the other. The younger related how he was working for a certain master and how this master had fed him from a *kurha* made by a Kumhar. Then after becoming independent of his master he told how he had continued to use that type of dish. The elder brother was much annoyed at this and told his younger brother that they could no longer associate nor eat together because of this practice.

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564 or quilt which they make from their own worn-out clothes or even
513 from the cast-off clothes of others. These quilts and mattresses are
[784] used in place of blankets and other forms of bedding usually found in
[554] villages, and present a ragged sight when taken out in the sun to air. The Rautiya Kols have a taboo for the Kathariya mattress. Rautiya Kols generally despise this *kurhi* because they do menial work, but this cannot be the main reason.

114 All the evidence that we were able to collect indicates that
513 Russell and Hiralal are incorrect in their conclusions regarding the
564 Kathariyas having the mattress as their totem. They say: "A member of this sept (Katharia) must never have a mattress in his house nor wear clothes sewn in cross-pieces as mattresses are sewn. The word *kathri* should never be mentioned before him as he thinks some great misfortune would thereby happen to his family, but this belief is falling into abeyance."[1] The actual facts which we have carefully checked seem to be the exact opposite.

564 8. *Khairwar.* This is probably the same as a group in Chota Nagpur known under the slightly different name of Kharias. In the year 1937 Sarat Chandra Roy[2] published in two volumes a complete and comprehensive study of this important group. The Khairwars in the Central Provinces seem to be a mixture of jungle tribes and are often confused with the Gonds. Russell and Hiralal say that the most probable derivation of the name is from the *khair* or catechu tree (*Acacia catechu*) from which catechu, "any one of the several dry, earthy, or resinlike, astringent substances got from certain tropical plants and used in tanning and dyeing" is manufactured. We were [314] given this same information: this group is called Khairwars because its members make *khair*. They are also said to be a low type of Kol and this work is despised as a profession for now-a-days it is done [554] only by primitive jungle-dwellers. It is not unlikely that a group of Kols at one time were active in preparing *khair* and so received this name, but it is more probable that they are somehow related to the Kharias of Chota Nagpur.

9. *Kulmangan.* This is another of the so-called lower types of Kols, the name being derived from *mangna*, "to ask." It appears [735] that during the time of birth, marriage, death, or special religious functions, members of this *kurhi*, if such it may be called, make it a practice to ask alms from Kols. On certain occasions they are said to [534] play the *sarangi*—a one-stringed musical instrument. There is no

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III. p. 510, see also Vol. I, p. 91.
2 *The Kharias.*

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614 564 784 264 415

this in a strict way, and when certain situations arise they may eat from a brass dish without offence. The same applies in the case of the Kathautiyas.

Russell and Hiralal[1] are supposed to have found traces of totemism among the Kols, but as previously noted it is clear that they have made a mistake in the case of the Kathariyas. They list certain "totemistic septs" in Mandla. They note that the Bargaiyan sept is really named after the village of Bargaon, that the sept connects its name with the *bar* or banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) and is said to revere it. This tree, however, is generally revered by Kols. Some of the sept's uses and taboos of the tree are mentioned in their article. The second sept, the Kathautia has the explanation that we have given, except it is reported that the sept reveres the tiger and keeps Bagheshwar Deo,[2] the tiger god, on a little platform on the veranda. We found no trace of this among the Kathautiyas interviewed. The third is the Kathariya sept, of which we have already spoken and where we believe the authors have gone astray. Fourthly, "The name of the Mudia or Mudrundia sept is said to mean shaven head, but they apparently revere the white *kumhra* or gourd, perhaps because it has some relation to the shaven head. They give the white gourd to a woman on the third day after she has borne a child, and her family do not eat this vegetable for three years."[3] Fifthly, the Kumraya sept is said to revere the brown *kumhra*. Again, the Bhuwar sept is named after *bhu* or *bhumi* and its members must never sleep on cots, always on the ground. We found no trace of this belief. "Other septs are Nathunia, a nose ring; Karpatia, a kind of grass; and Binjhwar, from a tribe of that name."[4] Russell and Hiralal do not state whether there are exogamic tendencies in connection with these septs or not. Totemism however, is a very complex phenomenon and differs widely even among the Mundas. There is apparently no single criterion: "Exogamy may or may not be coupled with the other features, totemistic taboos may be dissociated from a totemistic name for the group practising them; descent from the totem may or may not be postulated; and so forth."[5] Lowie goes on to discuss Goldenweiser's and Fraser's theories of totemism and finds them inadequate to explain the totemistic phenomena. "Only confusion can result from envisaging what is disparate under a single head."[6] The

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1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol, III, p. 510, 511.
2 See index : Tiger.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 510.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 511.
5 Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 140.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

l;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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Rautiya Kols have a strong taboo in relation to the horse, but repeated enquiries have failed to establish any totemistic connection, although it may exist. In view of these facts and in the light of these investigations it seems that totemism as such is apparently a negligible factor in the lives of the Kols of Central India. There are, it may be, certain traces of it kept alive by tradition, but its real significance has been lost. The unit of social organization turns out to be the family within the endogamous *kurhi*.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

583 626 migrate to a place where nothing is known of their history, for if they should try to remain they cannot enter into the life of any community of that area unless they cast their lot with the lowest of the low.

583 586 623 The above form of the elopement marriage does not have the same standing as the regular forms. If such a union should break up, and the woman go to live with another man, the first man has no right to make a formal complaint to the *panch*, nor can he claim her nor any compensation for her. The *panch* takes no responsibility for irregular unions and this fact is a real deterrent. Marriage would thus seem to have the marks of a contract; it binds the two persons and gives certain proprietory rights which are enforced by the community.

583 585 837 623 The second type of elopement marriage attempts to regularize the procedure after a couple has eloped. In this manner a control over such cases is exercised, and certain obligations must be met or there is a severe social penalty. If a boy runs off with a girl already married, who has also been through the *gauna*[1] part of the total cycle, but who has not become the actual property of her husband, he is required by the *panch* to refund to the party to whom the girl was first married all the expenses in connection with the *lagan*, the *sadi* and the *gauna*. This is a very heavy burden which few would undertake to face, for it may amount to as much as a hundred rupees. And even if he is able to pay he still has to feast the *panch*, and they see that he does it well. Following all this the regular marriage ceremony must be performed with its additional costs and obligations, before the couple are allowed to live together. This makes such an elopement a very costly affair, and the *panch* is in the position absolutely to enforce these penalties.

[584] If the *gauna* has not yet occurred and the girl elopes with another boy, all he has to do is to pay a penalty to the *panch*, but before they are allowed to live together the regular *sadi* must be performed. No *gauna* is thereafter necessary and they begin to cohabit. The regulations are thus much more severe if the *gauna* is passed than if the elopement occurred before it. There are variations in procedure, but this seems to be the custom.

114 184 583 584 2. *The Recognized Form of Marriage* (*Biwah*, *Biyah*). The description which follows is one compiled from investigations made in many places. When we first learned of the marriage customs of the Kols who lived close to Jubbulpore, we thought that the customs

1 See page 93.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

among the Kols living out in the jungles and away from larger centres would be simpler. We were therefore surprised by how consistently various groups gave us similar information. It should be noted that it is not claimed that these customs are peculiar to the Kols. Investigation among the simple village people of Hindu background will probably show that all over this area there is a great similarity in the marriage customs, the details may vary, but not the main outlines.

(1) *Selection of the Girl.* When a father considers it time to arrange a marriage for his son it is he who should take the initiative. The first thing he should do is to make some private preliminary enquiries. It is against the custom for the parents of the girl to make any direct advances. In this type of marriage neither the boy nor the girl has anything to say concerning his or her future mate. It is entirely in the hands of the elders. The boy's father may ask some relatives in another village to be on the lookout for a suitable girl, and he will consult the *panch* of his own village to see if any one of them knows of a girl who would make a suitable match for his son. As a result two or three names are suggested as possibilities. The next thing that is ordinarily done is to try to catch a glimpse of the girl without her parents knowing about it. It is best if this can be done by the boy's father, but he may send some trusted member of the *panch* to carry out the investigations for him. If the results are satisfactory, the boy's father reports to his *panch* and asks them if there is any objection to such a marriage. This is done to guard against a marriage which would be objectionable from any angle. The *panch* is usually pretty well posted on matters of relationship, and its opinion, in the absence of written records (for such are never kept by Kols), is authoritative. The father of the boy then arranges to see the girl's father privately, and when he goes he usually takes three or four of his friends from his village with him. In the interview that follows he does not come to the point immediately, but may talk about general matters for some time before bringing up the main question. Mutual enquiries are made concerning the status of the two families, the health of the children, etc. The friends of the father vouch for the accuracy and truth of his statements. If both parties find themselves in accord and if the girl's father is willing to give his daughter, the matter is then with the girl's father and it is he who now consults his *panch* and makes any private enquiries that he sees fit. Up till this time the matter is considered as strictly private and if either of the parties is not satisfied with any of the details and does not wish to follow it up the matter may be dropped without prejudice.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

able to name for us just who the six are, but the following are among those included: Athabhuji, Bhanmati, Bindajali, Bindra Basni, Bindawasnimai, Chandni, Chandika, Kalimai, Kalka, Khermai, Maridevi, and Shardamai. It is not unlikely that others may be brought under the same principle, for Khermai acts as village watchman and protector, as well as guardian against spirits, disease, and death. In this latter aspect, she does the work of Bairam, Jognimai, Mahamai, Maridevi, Phulmatimai and Sitalamai.

The following list of Kol deities can hardly be arranged in the order of their importance to the Kol and therefore are listed alphabetically. Of course no one group has given all these names in any one list, and there is much overlapping. Lists made on the field have never agreed either as to the number or their order in importance. Sometimes we were assured that a certain deity was the foremost of all, yet a few miles away her name was not even mentioned. A few of the deities stand out in importance, and are discussed at greater length. No pretence is made of giving all the information available elsewhere about the gods and goddesses found in the Kol pantheon and no detailed comparative study has been attempted. What is related below is based upon what Kols have told us and presents their point of view:

Female Deities.	*Male Deities.*
Alop	Baghdeo.
Anjanidevi	Bahanar Singh Deo.
Asmanidevi (or mai)	Barandeo.
Athabhuji	Barum baba.
Bairam	Basdeo.
Barmati	Bhainsokhar.
Bhagavati	Bhaino.
Bhanmati	Bhainsasor.
Bindajali	Bhuiyan.
Bindra Basni	Burhadeo.
Bindawasnimai	Dulhadeo.
Burimai	Gurdayal.
Chandika	Gwalabansa baba.
Chandni	Hardaul.
Chithra devi	Khetrapal.
Desh hari	Mahabir.
Dhartimai	Mansa deo.
Hinglaj devi	Nanga baba.

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539 *Kya jano maya sukhi ke khanewale.*
Garewa bharae apa ke liye—garewa ka ghalana,
Kya jano lumari ke pinewale.
Biriya banaewa apa ke liya—biriya ruchana,
Kya jano mayapalla ke khanewale.
Seja bichhaonwa apa ke liya—sejiya sona,
Kya jano gudri ke sonewale.

O dwellers in jungle, what do you know of singing and music?
I have cooked for you,—but how poor you make it out, for you have dry food always.
I have water ready for you,—but alas, will it please you? You who drink water from gourds?
Pan is ready too,—but you who use the leaves of the forest, can you enjoy this tender treat?
A bed is ready for you,—but tell me true:
How will you ever rest on such, O sleepers on rugs!

535 [462 562] DANCES. Dancing is found in connection with all happy occasions: births, weddings, feasts and festivals, but among the Kols it is only the women who dance. The men play and sing, but it is universally claimed that they never dance; it is considered effeminate to do so, for eunuchs dance, and since Kols are men they should not dance. In other groups among whom the Kols live, such as the Gonds and even the outcaste groups, the men-folk dance.

There is one main type of dance among Kols called by the same name as the songs that are sung with it: the *dadra*. There are various forms of this dance, differing somewhat in rhythm and also in movement. To the casual observer they look almost the same, but to the Kol there are real differences. The *purani chal* and the [578] *shaitani* are forms of the *dadra*. The word *shaitani* is literally 'satanic' or 'devilish' and in this form the words sung are very abusive [583] and suggestive. On the occasion of such a dance with its accompanying songs, youths and maidens often elope.

[77] The famous *karma* dance of the Gonds, in which both men and women participate, is not danced by the Kols, though they know of it and have often watched it. Russell and Hiralal however, claim [114] that the Kols dance it.[1]

1 *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 517.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

[P. 274]

CHAPTER XIV

THE KOL TRIBE IN TRANSITION

178 114 It is rather difficult to compare the Kols of today with the Kols of an earlier period. There is no material old enough and complete enough to show the changes that are occurring in Kol life and thought. The best single account of the Kols of Central India is found in Mr. William Crooke's Volumes on *The Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh*. This was written some fifty-five years ago, and while it contains something that may be used in a comparative way it is not full enough. Russell and Hiralal's book which is about thirty years old is not specific enough and is based more on general Munda customs than it is on actual Kols in Central India. And yet to use Crooke's account as a criterion of conditions among the Kols of Central India some fifty years ago would not be quite fair, as his account is based largely on the Kols in the southern edge of the United Provinces. Thus he is talking of the Northern Kols. Our investigations have been mainly among the Southern Kols, but we have checked our materials in Rewa State, the centre of Kol distribution. The fairly consistent account of the main outlines of Kol life and experience has led us to believe that we have a fairly accurate account of things as they are today. Nevertheless one senses a great unexplored world of belief, custom and outlook of which but the edge has been touched. No anthropologist would claim finality for any study such as this.

From our discussions with Kols and observations and comparisons there have clearly been changes among them in the economic, social and religious spheres of life.

178 464 ECONOMIC CHANGES. The striking thing from the economic angle is that this tribe, a jungle people originally, is moving away from the forests, first into agricultural centres where they earn their livelihood as farm coolies or tenant farmers, and then on into the industrial world as the factory coolie.

The further the Kols have moved from their jungle life the more industrialized they have become. Kols in Jubbulpore are nearly all engaged in factory work, or some other form of industrial work such as sawyers, and those yet further from Rewa are in manganese mines. [566 221] There are still large groups of Kols who are agricultural serfs and others who follow the wheat crop at the harvesting seasons. Along with other

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Appendix I

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP AMONG KOLS

Some investigations were made into the kinship nomenclature of the Kols to see what index it might afford as to the structure of Kol society. Unfortunately materials sent out were not returned and so no widespread investigation was possible. Below will be found a chart prepared from the responses of two different groups of Kols. There are variations and discrepancies in the two lists, but they may form the basis of a further investigation along this line.

List of Kinship Terms

English term of Relationship.	*Responses.* I.	II.
I. Speaker's own generation :		
Brother ..	Bhāiyā	Bhāī.
Elder brother ..	Baṛe bhāī	Bhāī.
Eldest brother ..	Jeṭhe bhāī	Bhāī.
Youngest brother ..	Saphale bhāī	Bhāī.
Father's elder brother's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Father's younger brother's son ..	Maphale bhāī	Bhāī.
Father's elder sister's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Father's younger sister's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Mother's sister's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Mother's elder sister's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Mother's younger sister's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Mother's elder brother's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Mother's younger brother's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Husband's elder sister's husband ..	Bahanoī	Nandoī.
Husband's elder brother ..	Jeṭha	Jeṭha.
Husband's younger brother ..	Dewar	Dewar.
Wife's elder sister's husband ..	Sāṛhū bhāī	Sāṛhū bhāī.
Husband's younger sister's husband ..	Sāṛhū bhāī	Loara bahanoī.
(Man's) Elder sister's husband ..	Bahanoī	Nandoī.
(Woman's) Elder sister's husband ..	Bhāī	Sāṛhū bhāī.
(Man's) Younger sister's husband ..	Bahanoī	Nandoī.
(Woman's) Younger sister's husband ..	Sāṛhū bhāī	Sāṛū bhāī.
Wife's younger brother ..	Sār	Sār.
Wife's elder brother ..	Sār	Sār.
Mother's sister's son ..	Bhāī	Bhāī.
Wife's elder sister's husband ..	Sāṛhū	Sāṛhū bhāī.
Husband ..	Mard	Adamī.
Son's wife's father ..	Sasur	Samdhī.
Daughter's husband's father ..	Sasur	Samdhī.
Wife ..	Mehrāk	Lugāī.

[P. 282 is blank]

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601 Sister's son's daughter .. Pānti Nātina.
184 Sister's daughter's daughter .. Nātina Nātina.

[14] The above may be compared with the list given in the Central Provinces Census Report, 1911, page 146. This list, however, does not refer to Kols in particular, being terms in general use in the area.

Males		*Females*	
Maternal uncle	Māmā	Maternal Uncle's wife	Māmī or Main.
Paternal uncle	Kākā or Chāchā	Paternal uncle's wife	Kākī or Chāchī.
Father's sister's husband	Phūphā	Father's sister	Phūphī or Phūā.
Mother's sister's husband	Mausiā	Mother's sister	Mausī.
Father's father	Ājā	Father's mother	Ājī.
Mother's father	Nānā	Mother's mother	Nānī.
Elder brother	Dādā	Elder sister	Didi or Jiji.
Husband's elder brother	Jeṭh	Elder brother's wife	Bhavaj or Bhaujī.
Husband's younger brother	Dewār	Younger brother's wife	Bhaihau.
Elder sister's husband	Jija or Bhauwā		
Sister's husband	Bahnoī	Husband's younger brother's wife	Dewarānī.
Wife's brother	Sālā	Husband's sister	Nānād.
Husband's sister's husband	Nandoī	Wife's sister	Sālī.
Wife's sister's husband	Sāṛhū	Wife's elder sister	Jiṭh sās.
Brother's son	Bhatijā	Wife's brother's wife	Sarhaj.
Sister's son	Bhānej or Bhānjā		
Son of husband's elder brother	Jiṭhaut	Brother's daughter	Bhatijī or Banchī.
Wife's brother's son	Sarput	Wife's brother's daughter	Sarputin.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Appendix VII

ANTHROPOMETRIC

114 In April 1938, by an arrangement with Dr. B. S. Guha, of the department of Anthropology of the Zoological Survey of India, a trained worker, Dr. B. K. Chatterji, came to Jubbulpore and during the course of some two weeks we made the usual measurements on 150 Kols : 127 men and 23 women. [564] In the tables following the men are divided into two groups depending whether they belonged to the Rautiya or the Thakuriya subdivision.

The statistical results which follow were kindly compiled by Dr. C. Chandra Sekar, head of the Statistical Laboratory, Indian Statistical Institute. Dr. Chatterji is also working out a detailed analysis which at the date of printing is not ready for publication and inclusion here. However, it is hoped that this will appear separately later on and will give a full analysis of the measurements together with his observations on racial likenesses and affinities to other groups.

No detailed comparison with other groups is made here, nor are any theories of racial relationship advanced in respect to these measurements. They are recorded for the use of any who may find them helpful in making wider generalizations in relation to other anthropological data.

141 In addition to the tables the following general observations are taken from our notes :
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1. *Skin Colour, (Von Luschan Scale).*

(1) Men :

Colour No.	No.
23	2
24	5
25	31
26	56
27	8
28	13
29	12
	127

(2) Women :

Colour No.	No.
21	2
22	1
23	2
24	2
25	7
26	7
27	—
28	1
29	1
	23

2. *Eye Colour*

(1) Men :

Black	48
Dark Brown	47
Medium Brown	32
	127

(2) Women :

Black	15
Dark Brown	3
Medium Brown	5
	23